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ABSTRACT

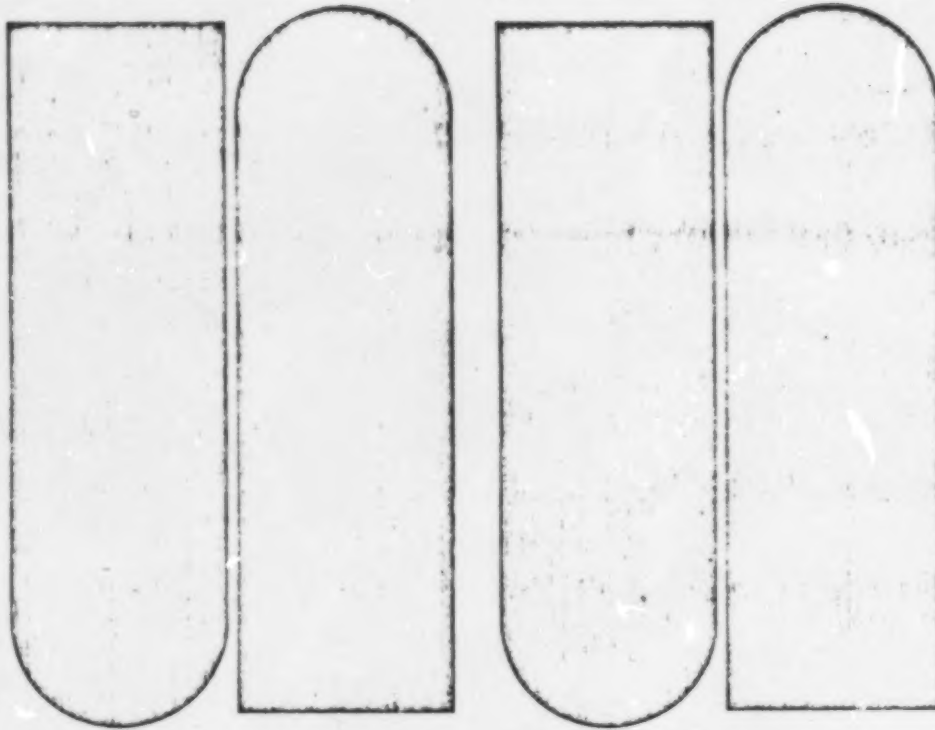
In order to account for the demise of American student activism, some explanation for its occurrence in the first place seems useful. Such explanations involve reference to family socialization, university conditions, societal-based issues, and to the possibility of social change. Sociological explanations appear to focus on the causation, alternative explanations, and continuities. From such a perspective, the student movement can be seen to arise initially from the peculiar juxtaposition of intense and numerous social issues with a special kind of primary socialization that addresses itself to values affecting these issues and that resulted in an alienated youth culture. In these terms, a renewed interest in activism by students might be anticipated, but not until continued affluence is assured or denied, and not until the possibility of repression either becomes greater than it is or ceases to exist at all. (Author/KE)

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THE END OF STUDENT ACTIVISM

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American student activism has ended. In order to account for its demise, some explanation for its occurrence in the first place seems useful. Such explanations involve reference to family socialization, university conditions, societal-based issues, and to the possibility of social change. If the end of student activism can somehow be explained in terms of its causes and its consequences, this discussion may contribute to the continuing analysis of this phenomenon. Predictions will be seen to be difficult to make, even in the context of recent knowledge.

EXPLANATIONS FOR THE RISE OF STUDENT ACTIVISM

The development of higher schooling has given rise to a classical pattern of factors resulting in mass student movements which oppose the established political order (Ben-David and Collins, 1967; Shils, 1970). Activism is typically facilitated by the freedom afforded students, by traditional university autonomy, and by the segregation of students into enclaves. Student movements appear to occur with the frustrated expectations of students for the implementation of modern ideas they have acquired through education. The typical regime, unresponsive to proposals for reform, is repressive. Educated youths in developing countries have always been faced with political corruption, combined with the personal frustration that career opportunities commensurate with their schooling were not available.

American student activism is hard to account for in terms of this classical pattern for two reasons: 1) repression of students did not occur until after activism occurred, and 2) career opportunities had been open to most American students. These two factors seem more relevant to explaining the continuation or recurrence of activism than its onset. However, repression had always been experienced by minority Americans, and increased schooling among larger numbers of youth may have accounted for a greater awareness of governmental injustice.

University or Societal Issues?

Clark Kerr (1966), a sociologist, a former President of Berkeley, and an early casualty of the student revolt, has suggested several conditions precipitating the increase in student political activity. Among these were: the critical mass of students in large universities; the student culture, which disseminated an ideology emphasizing political reform and existential experience at the ex-

pense of vocational advancement and affluence; the explosive issues of the 60's, including civil rights, the Vietnam war, the quality of education, and the rapid, uncontrolled expansion of mass corporations and government bureaucracies; and, finally, the extension of the period of youth which, through financial dependence, postpones too long the opportunity for real participation in society.

A somewhat stronger indictment of the university is made by Heirich (1970), who charges that:

The liberal university espouses the causes of the national establishment to the neglect, even damage of other interests here and abroad. In the name of academic freedom anything goes so long as it supports and furthers the interests of the currently powerful: research in American universities has become central to American military domination abroad; universities recruit and train an unquestioning labor force for the central exploitative economic interests of the nation. . .

Rossman (1972) concurs with this appraisal of the university, describing it as an authoritarian complex whose anti-human character is reflected everywhere, from the sterile architecture ("dormitories looking like dentist's offices"), to the departmental system ("forming closed, hierarchical parallel societies"), to the curriculum itself ("that doesn't teach students what they need to know").

Nisbet (1970) complains that the student movement was the result of adolescent boredom and "stark grabbing for power." His ungenerous assessment relates the activists' family socialization to their violent encounter with the university:

The cry for relevance in the curriculum was the all too familiar middle class child's cry to be entertained, to be stimulated, to be listened to, having become accustomed in their homes to get attention to whatever was on their minds.

Halleck (1968) also attributes students' inability to tolerate frustration, deriving from their contact with the university or the larger society, to their permissive socialization. The result is violent behavior and uncompromising demands. Another time-worn explanation espoused by Halleck, the "alienation producing quality of American education," is held accountable for activism, owing to the difficulty of sustaining competitiveness among students all the way through high school and into the college years.

Nisbet explains that the objective of the student movement was not reform of the university but overthrow of the surrounding social order. This effort to effect a revolution in the social order was initiated by Mario Savio in 1964, who, despite his imputed desire to reform the university, actually wanted social revolution:

Revolution on first a local, then national, and finally, world scale. This was what the reading of Lenin, Trotsky, Fanon, Mao, Che, and Marcuse had helped stimulate. . . (but) who, it must be confessed had something more substantial in mind when they issued the call for revolution than the position of the American middle class student in college. . . (Nisbet, 1970)

According to Nisbet, the misinterpretation of university administrators like Clark Kerr that the university itself was the major cause of activism led to academic reform of the American university.

The question of the contribution of university impersonality, unresponsiveness, and bureaucratization was handled in a more empirical way by Scott and El-Assal (1969). Although they concluded that such university characteristics were important causes of activism, Dunlap (1970) held that most student protest originated from a concern with major societal problems, e.g., poverty, militarism, racism, and the failure of the university to combat these problems. Protest did not result from a concern with the educational experience of students in the university.

The university has been charged with so much of the responsibility for the student revolt that it is almost surprising to read Somer's (1965) account of life at Berkeley before the Free Speech Movement, in which he says the majority of students there felt the administration treated them as mature, responsible adults, and that they were generally satisfied with their educational experience. Mario Savio's major complaint in 1964 was that the University of California produced human resources for industry and the military but neglected the poor (Savio, 1965). Peterson (1966) also provides data which demonstrate that off-campus social and political issues, rather than campus conditions, were the important factors in producing activism. Even the 1968 demonstration at Columbia is explained as having been precipitated by the university's complicity with the military establishment and the racist nature of Columbia's relations with Harlem rather than the University's educational characteristics (Bell, 1969). (Later repressive measures taken by the University against demonstrators caused many to call for its restructuring.)

Some support for the off-campus issues explanation is available for as late as 1970 from the results of a Playboy national poll taken in the Fall of that year. The poll, based on a sample of 700 students at 200 US campuses, concluded that the most important issues were, in order of importance, the Vietnam war, racial conflict, the environment, government repression, overpopulation, the economy, crime, student rights, and women's liberation. Lunsford (1968) catalogs other issues: the perceived injustices suffered by blacks and women through discrimination and males through the draft; the tradition of law breaking in American life, ranging from the illegalities of race relations to the General Electric price fixing incident; the violent character of US history, including several recent assassinations;

nations; and the betrayal of Presidential administrations, in episodes such as the Bay of Pigs. In this way student unrest is seen as a response to life in America in the twentieth century.

Youth as a Class

The economically and socially passive role imposed on youth well into physiological adulthood, combined with the troubling question of what their education is preparing them for, are used to explain activism. Lasch and Genovese (1969) observe that one feature of neo-capitalism in America is the presence of large groups of youth who are excluded from production and who must be kept in places of detention such as the university. This large scale exclusion from useful work is a relatively new phenomenon. Often, the presence of youth in the university cannot even be justified as career preparation, because much education is irrelevant to subsequent employment (Berg, 1970). Halleck (1968) also refers to the boredom and powerlessness experienced by youth, exacerbated by feelings of futility and meaninglessness, which create an atmosphere of discontent. Mayhew (1968) observes:

Some of the struggle of college students in their middle twenties to obtain a share of the governance of a college may in reality be an effort to stimulate a part of adulthood that their economic condition denies them. In earlier times a twenty five year old male was responsible for a part of society. The modern twenty five year old college student labors with considerable guilt because he is not similarly placed.

Scott and Lyma (1970) point out that those who are students, despite age, experience, or marital status, are victims of a myth supportive of industrial society that "one is not an adult until one is gainfully employed as a productive member of society." And youth, through the educational process itself, are becoming aware that productivity as such is not necessary to the extent and for the reasons that it once was. Jencks and Riesman (1968) agree:

The enforced dependence of students encourages them to create a make-believe world in which it is as if they were grown up. To achieve this, they must organize their own lives, set their own ideals, and deny the authority and legitimacy of the adult world which they cannot join. . . by insisting on the abolition of all forms of dependency, students convert their adolescent status to that of an adult.

A more explicit class analysis is sometimes used to explain student activism. Although, as pointed out by Delini (1966), youth is not exploited by either income or type of work, radicalization has occurred. "That their labor is useless and thus alienating eludes the traditional meaning of exploitation - the realization of surplus value through the unpaid labor and time of productive work-

ers." Mass radicalization of traditionally privileged college youth cannot be explained solely in terms of political consciousness caused by current issues. A rival explanation is the shrinking labor market for college graduates at a time of rapidly increasing levels of education. During the shift from the old to the new technological base, the demand for technical workers and "social technicians," positions for which the "sons of the industrial proletariat" are now being trained, will override the demand for professionals. The middle class victims of this process are not voluntary dropouts; the system is dropping them out.

Defini predicts the decomposition of the middle class and the establishment of an educational system which, through its channeling function, will train a relatively small technical work force and prepare a passive population for the consumption of culture. This will make the university the focus of the class struggle, just as the factory was in the nineteenth century. The conflict shifts to the university mainly because it is the focus of the transformation of the class structure. Such an explanation makes the apparent break with one's class origins which characterizes student activism seem less mysterious. It also adds credibility to the theses that the commercialization of the youth culture, with its sensitivity training, music festivals, and dope, is a conscious effort to direct youth into harmless, profitable pursuits.

Being Rich in America

Unlike those who claim the system itself is dropping out middle class youth, Gottlieb and Campbell (1968) take the view that the "hippie" wants out.

No matter how painful or absurd is the business of growing up in America, they can stay within the accepted framework if they choose to do so. They are not forced to withdraw or to take the role of the alienated. The alienation of the poor is forced. True, they might not like the good life of the middle class if they had it, but one must have it to be able to reject it.

Additional support for the contention that while middle class youth want out, working class youth want in, is offered by Berger in his discussion of voluntary downward mobility (1971). The two-year college student, who is typically of lower socioeconomic status than his four-year counterpart (Reberg, 1972; Cohen, 1969), offers an opportunity for testing this hypothesis.

Jones (1969), after surveying junior college administrators, concluded that the majority of such schools had no protest at all, and when it did occur, it centered around such issues as student publications. The nonresistant nature of the junior college was thought to be the most important reason for the lack of protest, in which case family and community influences act to lessen the possibility of activist involvement. Milbur (1969) claims that

junior colleges have escaped confrontations simply because they still emphasize teaching, a view which assumes the institutional structure of higher education, with its alienated student-teacher relationships, contributes to activism. O'Banion (1969) reports that junior college student activism has been focused on such issues as food service and student dress rather than on major social issues. Likewise he attributes this to students' relative lack of personal freedom, because most live at home and are more likely to be employed, at least part-time, than four-year students.

For purposes of implying causation, the junior college may be considered a control group, in which case activism would be explained in terms of how the two educational institutions differ. Generally, a comparison yields variables such as lower socioeconomic status, the immediate family ties of students, direct community influence, part-time employment, and closer relationships with faculty and administration. Hypotheses advancing these variables as causes of activism gain some support from the case of the junior college.

Also relevant to affluence is the "boredom-meaninglessness-restlessness" hypothesis advanced by Halleck (1968) that while in a poor society the very need for survival requires a structured, highly directed existence, a more affluent society encourages the invention of new struggles and imaginary hardships in the absence of any real ones. A related proposition comes from Scott and Lyman (1970) who propose:

Modern youth see themselves as victims of a system that invites compliance, adjustment, and commitment to the socially determined life cycle. If they will postpone their impulses for immediate sexual and hedonistic satisfaction, invest their energies in preparation for future careers, align their personalities to indicate not only accordance with but also attachment to the value system in which they find themselves, and enthusiastically accept their fate... they will be rewarded with both the symbols and sureties of the American dream: a comfortable, middle-class existence...

Missing from this formula for a pleasant life is a sense of adventure. The conventional roles and positively valued statuses of society hold little possibility of giving their incumbents any "kick," i.e., any value high enough to be taken as the "center of one's life" (Klapp, 1969). Scott and Lyman also suggest that one reason for the persistence of student activism is that it was fun, and one consequence of a fun experience is the desire to continue it. Abbie Hoffman (1968), explaining this expressive function of activism, urged students to have a good time. "I don't like the concept of a movement built on sacrifice, dedication, respectability, frustration, and guilt." After interviewing protestors, Scott and Lyman concluded that violent forms of activism are productive of "an afterlife of euphoria" and a sense of immediacy and unconsciousness which is not available in any other kind of role behavior. Also, activism

calls into play old skills for new purposes, and provides opportunities to explore and develop latent talents. An example of this might be the design and construction of barricades by architectural students during the Columbia revolt.

An Example of Social Change

Flacks (1970) remarks:

Although it is hard to demonstrate empirically, it is very plausible to argue the emergence and spread of an 'alienated' youth culture in the 60's was not simply a functional adaptation by the system or some ordinary expression of youthful faddishness and exuberance, but rather an expression and a catalyst of profound cultural disintegration and transformation. If intellectual and 'uncommitted' youth were the agents in this cultural change, they were agents because they were least able to accept or be accepted by conventional peer society and therefore most vulnerable to cultural strain and most ready for cultural change.

From a societal perspective, Flacks sees activism as a result of a cultural breakdown, wherein the socialization provided by the mother-centered nuclear family inculcates values vulnerable to the contradictions of day to day life. This incoherence of the culture with family socialization is characterized by self-denial and self-discipline on one hand and self-expression and hedonism on the other. Though the values engendered in the family do appear suitable for creating the appropriate kinds of people for technological society, e.g., rationality and flexibility, inherent in the same family situation is the tendency to generate feelings of discontent with established institutions and roles.

The student movement, which Flacks said originated in the socialization of upper middle class children, was accompanied by a counter culture of "uncommitted youth" of similar social origins, but whose parents did not communicate a value system capable of sustaining or guiding political activism. These uncommitted youth have been described as "having problems achieving independence" and "having difficulty in relating to conventional definitions of masculine sex roles," due to the physical absence, psychological distance, or role model inadequacy of the father (Kernston, 1967). But whatever the psychological etiology, the presence of a segment of non-politicized alienated youth, combined with those holding definite political viewpoints, helps account for the beginnings of activism to the degree both groups shared a sense of revulsion with and exclusion from conventional adult society and the life of their peers.

The diffusion of this ideology, or what might be construed as the development of a collective consciousness, was facilitated by youth youth enclaves and the media (which acted as a substitute for face-to-face interaction). Youth enclaves, where disconcerted youth

gather, are the result of a political-economic system which requires the concentration of large numbers of youth in universities, military installations, and urban ghettos (Horowitz and Friedland, 1970). Such "critical masses" may have had the effect of reinforcing and magnifying grievances and alienations of those within them. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the media effect was the occurrences of popular culture itself, which represented a novel fusion of intellectual and "pop" culture. Although this fusion might be explained by increased levels of mass education, according to Flacks, it was largely due to the creation of new art forms that "synthesized aspects of both high and low culture." Long hair and drugs, originating in the subculture of alienated intellectual students in the 1950's, became diffused, notable through the new music which popularized the idea of cultural opposition. This music, composed and performed by the middle class itself, was characterized by a decreased interest in the romantic boy-girl relationships of the 1950's along with an increased incidence of themes relating to drug use, criticisms of society, communal living, the beauty of nature, and the necessity of revolution (Shea, 1972).

Student activism is seen to result partially from a socialization process which ill-prepared youth for assimilation into a bureaucratic, university milieu, more from a combination of 1) the diffusion of a youth culture through enclaves and the media, and 2) the myriad issues arising in the society all at one time, and perhaps most from affluence - both the experience and promise of being rich.

EXPLANATIONS FOR THE DEMISE OF STUDENT ACTIVISM

On a general level, Mauss (1971) says that a problem inherent in any social movement's attempt at transforming society is the danger of suppression when the movement is too radical in its actions and its aims, and the danger of absorption and cooptation when it is too moderate. The student movement suffered the effects of both dangers. The success of agents of social control at coercion cannot be overlooked as an explanation for the demise of campus activism. Both this high likelihood of suppression, combined with the concessions to some student demands, contributed to the end of the movement.

The Failure of Ideology

Nisbet (1970) attributed the failure of activism partially to the middle class character of the student population: "Nothing in the family life from which these students derive is likely to fit them for the dedicated, disciplined, demanding life of the hard-core revolutionary." Taylor (1972) concurs, saying that activists defined themselves and their radicalism in terms of the action they took rather than by an ideology or theory of social revolution. A second reason for the collapse of the movement, according to Nisbet, was that it did not arise from any clear orientation of students or

from any commitment to the values of the academic world, and was therefore not really student revolt. Any successful revolution, he contends, has had a close, persisting coincidence of objectives and ideology.

Piccone (1969) holds that demonstrators were not themselves fully aware of what they were doing, which accounts for their ideologically conditioned responses to questions about their protest activity. Ferrandino (1969) points out the movement, lacking a good social analysis, emerged in abstractions of love and flower power. This implicit ideology dictated communal sharing, refusal to perform alienating labor, and that all one had to do to solve all problems was "get his head together." Drug sale and usage, while promoting group solidarity, resulted in extremely exploitative versions of capitalism. Greeley (1972) also blames the movement for a lack of conscious objectives, analytic skills, or persistence. Also, serious revolutionaries would have been more interested in winning allies and making converts than in denouncing the rest of American society.

Only the blacks had a commitment to concrete goals, and this was not in their role as students but in their role as blacks. For them the campus was a base for expanding the struggle taking place in the ghetto, the factories, and the government. Their relatively tight discipline was evident at Columbia (Avern, 1969), where, in several incidents, blacks were embarrassed and disturbed by activities of white student protestors.

Schaar and Molin (1969) contend that the student revolt was doomed to failure because it was a revolt of the middle class against itself:

How little similarity there is between the politics of the students and the classical revolutionary situations is evidenced in the intense and almost universal hostility of the working class and the rural populations toward the students. The hatred of the masses is stirred by the abrasive politics on campus, and general slovenliness of the students. It is kept in motion by the continuous spectacle of the sons and daughters of those who made it in America and who now defile those values of work, achievement, and upward mobility which sustain the city worker and the people of the small towns and rural areas. . . . It is, moreover, an attempt at revolution which dares not go into the streets, the factories, and (increasingly) the ghettos.

Changing Times

Greeley (1972) says the movement ended because the student body changes: "if there is one iron law of changing generations, it is that one year's freshmen are likely to be extremely skeptical of what was popular with last year's seniors." Lipset (1972) describes the growing sense of despair experienced by students in the late 1960's which reached its height during the Cambodian invasion. The

decline of labor market opportunities for college educated workers has affected levels of student activism, and has caused a greater emphasis on security and money as factors in career choices. Schaar and Molin (1969), in their examination of the possibility for a student revolt, remind us that a society capable of producing so many consumer goods, providing endless varieties of entertainment, and sustaining relatively high levels of employment is a difficult target for a revolutionary to attack.

A survey by Yankelovich (1972) shows that the present generation of students rejects attitudes held by the preceding one. Although they are pacifistic and egalitarian, in 1971, 59 percent reported they accepted easily the "power and authority of the police," close to 66 percent identified religion and patriotism as important, and 85 percent agreed with statements such as "Society needs some legally based authority in order to prevent chaos" and "Business is intended to make a profit." The end of the draft and the war, along with black separatism, which has reduced the moral pressure felt by some whites, have contributed to attitude changes.

Other Explanations

Abstract explanations include Endlemen's (1972) that a contributing factor to the movement's end was that the "illusions of communal brotherhood in the 'communes' of liberated buildings cannot be sustained beyond the time of crisis-ecstasy. Afterward, the work is gray again rather than instantly and magically transformed." Also, although some of the males who led the movement experienced confrontations as an initiation into manhood, they received no real validation of such a transformation from the larger society, so the movement failed as a puberty rite.

Greeley concludes that the movement ended because "it was above all a search for something to believe in and something to belong to, and it turned out to be incapable of promising either faith or community."

As the draft was ending and the war was winding down, a new generation of students arrived on the campus. The familiar social issues may have seemed hackneyed to them by now. Distracted by their concern with employment, impressed with the awesome power of the agents of social control, encouraged by widespread university reform, unguided by a coherent ideology, and disillusioned by an activism which had alienated other Americans, students settled down to studying, listening to records, smoking pot, and letting the activism of the 1960's die.

RESULTS OF STUDENT ACTIVISM

It was not for nothing that the movement ended: It's negative results may have as much explanatory power as its more positive ones.

Non-Constructive Consequences

In response to campus violence, several state legislatures passed bills making illegal campus trespassing, class disruption, and other acts deemed detrimental to the college community (Edwards, 1970). Such repressive measures are likely to be related to the resignation of 72 college presidents during the final five years of student activism in America.

Nisbet (1970) says the greatest single on-campus result of the student revolt was the refinement of police technology, which was endorsed by the American people after the Chicago Democratic Convention in 1968:

There are better, less visible, less troubling (to middle class consciences), and far more effective ways now at police disposal. Laws have been passed at both national and state levels, administrative rulings have been handed down by the innumerable agencies with which the university deals, university administrators have been decisively toughened. These are real and immediate consequences of 1964-69.

Greeley (1972) says a major result of the movement was the justification it provided for massive budget cuts for American higher education. He also claims support for Nixon's war policies usually increased after demonstrations. Some, like Flacks (1970), assert that the campus confrontations were self-defeating because they were "unintelligible to many who cannot understand the ingratitude of pampered kids for the sanctuaries for which they have been provided."

More Positive Consequences

Gustfield (1972) remarks that it is paradoxical student activism succeeded in making so many university reforms given the hostility of the government and the public. Lunsford (1968), commenting on the effectiveness of student protest, says that where ever students demonstrated, the common response was greater opportunity for political participation in campus governance. Among the results listed by Bloomberg (1970) were: an increase in grading options; more relevant courses; black studies curricula, the virtual end to ROTC, and the establishment of the advisory role of the student, variously involving minority and majority voting power. Green (1969) more fully documented these results: the phase out of ROTC at Columbia, Harvard, Dartmouth; the disaffiliation of Stanford University from the Stanford Research Institute; establishment of a university senate at Columbia with 21 students out of 101 senators; establishment of faculty-student senates at Yeshiva University and Reed College; creation of student positions on boards of trustees of Massachusetts public universities and Vanderbilt University, American University, and the University of Kentucky; experimental underground curricula at Brown; black studies curricula at Princeton, Rutgers, Antioch, San Francisco

State; open admissions policies at the City University of New York and at Rutgers, etc., the implication being that now that students comprise a constituency, it is unlikely any college administrator will disregard the views of any substantial student group in the future.

Another positive accomplishment of the movement is the recent amendment to the Higher Education Act, which suggests students be represented on boards of trustees as voting members on every campus in the nation, a measure which might never have occurred to the Senate, had the movement never happened (Greeley, 1972).

Heirich (1972) contends that the result of greatest long-term significance which the movement accomplished is the equalization of opportunity for minority students. Also, the anti-war movement, based in the university, probably lessened the possibility of greater American military involvement in foreign campaigns. The de-escalation of the Vietnam war has likewise been attributed to activism.

Ferrandino (1969) calls the movement successful because of the activism stirred up in high schools, service industries, and among street people and draftees. It must be admitted, however, that the use of marijuana by the troops or the presence of factory workers at music festivals is not going to result in revolution. Perhaps the greatest effect of the movement on the general population was its impact on fashion, nudity, bell bottoms, long hair, rock, and dope usage.

Lipset (1972) believes the most lasting result of the movement may be in its counterculture, which continues to influence conventional notions about education and work. Flacks (1970) agrees, citing the increase in the variety of life courses open in American society as an important development:

The social inventions of intellectual youth - the "youth counterculture and the student new left - have been crucial in the transformation of the consciousness of an entire generation. By creating new modes of being young, these inventions helped to undermine an already obsolete cultural framework and an already stagnating political order.

An Unintended Consequence

Berger (1971) perceives as an unintended result of the diffusion of countercultural values the advance of "precisely those social strata least touched by its currently celebrated transformations of consciousness." Given the absence of a guiding ideology, such unanticipated consequences are not surprising.

Invoking the Pareto circulation of elites thesis, Berger claims that the upward mobility now permitted lower and working class college graduates will strengthen the class structure by moving new tal-

ent upward, preventing rigidity, and discouraging revolution. This newly educated class will replace upper middle class dropouts, who are voluntarily downwardly mobile, in supplying the personnel requirements of the technological society. Pareto would predict such circulation is necessary if a society is to survive. The counter-culture is opposed to the achievement-oriented Protestant ethic, which is perceived as "alienated, being upright, inimical to life."

The possibility that this circulation will ever occur may be most dependent on whether the youth culture makes the transition to permanent counterculture. To the extent that it does, such downward social mobility will exist. Whether it is voluntary or not is argued by DePaul (1969) and Gottlieb and Campbell (1968). Berger suggests that a more likely development will be an overall repudiation of careers in the status hierarchies of business, government, and scientific technology, accompanied by an acceptance of careers such as T-group leader or "humanistic sociologist."

In assessing the movement, whether its deficits offset gains is not obvious. Perhaps it is too soon to tell whether the negative consequences of advances in police science, destruction of college facilities, tightening of higher education budgets, and the resulting unpopularity of the American student throughout the society will be balanced or overridden by the effect of the movement on campus social and curricular reform, cultural alternatives, and American foreign policy.

PREDICTIONS

The precariousness inherent in prediction-making is well illustrated in an article by Green (1967) which laments the projected shortage of PhD's as a result of the Selective Service decision to draft oldest men first. The prediction involves a total loss of 42,000 doctorates during the period from 1967 to 1970 alone: "This loss can never be made up."

More immediately relevant to the topic of student protest is the fact that, although social scientists during the late 1950's argued that the inherent stability, flexibility, and openness of the American political system, along with its increasing affluence, would absorb any opposition movements, the events of the 1960's proved them wrong. Keeping this warning in mind, it is nonetheless interesting to attempt prediction.

Research efforts to determine the subsequent careers of former activists posit a general avoidance of both moderate politics and conventional occupational pursuits. Green, (1970), in his study of former members of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, found they were neither freaked out nor upwardly mobile five years later. Another study (Maidenberg and Meyer, 1970) reports increased radicalism among the fifty percent or so who remained activists.

Fendrich, Tarleau, and Simons (1972) found support for Keniston's hypothesis (1968) that "political activism is an intense personal experience that can change the goals, values, and identities of those involved." They found that, ten years later, former civil rights activists, compared to former student government members and apolitical students, were much more heavily concentrated in the knowledge and human service occupations, and were more likely to demonstrate and participate in illegal political activities. While the student government and apolitical control groups of this study reported current involvement with civic groups which reinforce prevalent social institutions, activists were more likely to be found in organizations committed to a "humanistic reordering of social institutions." Cooperation or retreatism does not seem to have occurred among former activists over the past decade. They have, instead, combined ideological commitment with the pressures of making a living, voting and contributing to the community.

Ficks (1970) suggests these radicals in the professions may constitute the class with the potential for fulfilling the revolutionary role Marx expected for the industrial proletariat:

If the youth revolt has, up to now, been charged with a failure to promote concrete alternatives, such charges will be less and less relevant as the new radicals in the professions develop. . . . remaking the careers they have accepted in terms of their own moral and political perspectives and those established in the student movement.

These professionals are formulating concrete proposals for transformation of the health system, consumer rights, education, social welfare, and criminal justice.

A recent study of students at Oklahoma University designed to establish student conceptions of "average comfort levels" of income, reports that the mean level of economic comfort was approximately the lower limit of the highest decile of the US income distribution (Porter, 1971). If this conception characterizes students generally, the asceticism of Consciousness III and the anti-materialist mentality ascribed to the new generation seem challenged by the young themselves. Given such a desire for economic security, perhaps revolutionary potential exists in the employment situation of college graduates, who are increasingly underemployed and unemployed to a degree unknown in this country. As in the case of the classical student movement in developing nations, this experience will result in frustration, which could lead to significant radicalization, in view of the population projections that predict a large increase in the number of adults during this decade. However, it is possible that youth facing great economic insecurity will be politically cautious and more hard working, and that the promise of affluence which tormented their predecessors may cease to exist, in which case a counter-revolutionary situation will exist. A third alternative is that conscious political decision will somehow mitigate the problem.

Endleman (1972) predicts the university will survive and accommodate to a condition in which an increasing proportion of the age cohort is enrolled, especially among racial and ethnic minorities. Such a situation will result in a modification of institutional standards in a way that will more closely conform to the abilities of the masses. Additionally, students will probably set their own limits on the degree of responsibility they desire in university governance. The presence of former student activists will probably influence curricula and pedagogical styles.

Regarding large-scale implications of the movement, Delint (1969) contends that in the impending transition from the old to the new technological base, and during reconstruction of the class structure, capitalism will be most unstable. The prospect of reconstituting society on a new basis seems great because of the increasing proportion of the society which is being subjected to continuously higher levels of education. Exposure to higher education puts students in the privileged position of seeing the contradictions of capitalism.

At the same time we study history, literature, and philosophy, we are exposed to the practical application of the social sciences (control of subject populations at home and abroad; utilization of public institutions by private interests and the defense department).

If this educational experience is mediated by structures which can raise the level of consciousness of students to that of a class, some reconstitution of the class structure may be imminent. Piccone (1969), discussing the revolutionary possibilities of the counterculture, says:

The self-liberation attainable within the counterculture, to the extent it does not alter the concrete social context within which the liberated individual will have to operate, can only be temporary, for the real causes of alienation and isolation that reduce the human subject to the level of repressed, abstract consumers remain operative.

If the advanced industrial society is able to remedy deprivation situations - particularly through mass culture itself - fundamental social change is not likely. Insofar as the counterculture is an alternate culture, it becomes only another expression of the present political realities. Insofar as the youth revolt and counterculture are construed as revolution itself, a mystification of revolutionary possibilities will occur. And insofar as the youth culture simply demands more amplifiers and leather goods rather than more Mercurys or electric carving knives, it contributes significantly to the maintenance of present economic arrangements. As Ferrandino (1969) points out, Dylan, for example, while articulating the necessity of community and social criticism, became an outstanding example of a successful capitalist. Ferrandino concludes:

The appeal of the hippie subculture may well fade away, but the vision of a practical culture in which man is free from labor, free to begin the task of constructing truly human relationships, probably has been prematurely launched and will continue to haunt capitalist society.

Flacks emphasizes that while alternative life styles must be seen to work and provide satisfying, rational ways of solving personal and social problems, some vision of the social order is necessary. Without such a program no majority of the society will be willing to risk the security of the status quo for alternatives such as the sharing of economic and child raising responsibilities.

CONCLUSION

Sociological explanations appear to focus on causation, alternative explanations, and continuities. From such a perspective, the student movement can be seen to arise initially from the peculiar juxtaposition of intense and numerous social issues with a special kind of primary socialization which addressed itself to values affecting these issues, and which resulted in an alienated youth culture. From that culture - a commercial, entertainment-oriented phenomenon made possible by a combination of affluence and mass communication - later came student activists, the last of which were more the product of a media effect than of socialization processes.

Major social issues as war, the draft, the environment, and minority rights, lost intensity of interest as they were tirelessly dealt with in the press, in party platforms, and by the Administration itself. Concessions were gained, especially in the University, though it is still not clear to what extent its imperfections contributed to the student revolt. The affluence which had made it all possible, which permitted some youth to be concerned with such abstract entities as values in the first place, and which had caused the more gaily among them to act, gradually appeared threatened. All this was in the midst of growing society-wide antagonism, new programs of crowd control, and the attendant suspicion of counter-productivity. As unemployment among college graduates became more common, a return to privatism among students paralleled the attempt of the nation to return to relative isolation.

In these terms a renewal of interest in activism by students might be anticipated, but not until continued affluence is assured or denied, and not until the possibility of repression either becomes greater than it is or ceases to exist at all.

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